UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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New Light Coming on the Sacco-Vanzetti Case

By

EDWARD HOLTON JAMES

"The agitation for the release of these men which began years ago, will continue, now that they are dead, for years to come, until at last the truth is known and heard."—UNITY, September 5, 1927

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Labor Sunday Message, 1932

(Prepared by the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.)

On Labor Sunday, as on Christmas, the churches of Christ repeat the promise of peace on earth, goodwill to men. They seek to interpret for themselves and the world what this gospel of goodwill implies for our industrial civilization. On Labor Sunday, as on Easter Sunday, the churches acclaim the living Christ and declare that His spirit should guide all human relations. On Labor Sunday, as on the Day of Pentecost, the churches of Christ desire to speak with new tongues so that their message shall be understood by all men. The churches want their young men to see visions and their old men to dream dreams of a better world in which industry shall be planned to meet human needs.

The Test of an Economic System

The thing that really matters in any industrial system is what it actually does to human beings. For this reason no society that would call itself Christian or even civilized can tolerate such unemployment as we now see in our economic life. Unemployment terribly increases the strains which even in so-called prosperous times bring many to the breaking point. Homes are threatened and broken. There is more overcrowding as families double up in quarters which do not give adequate privacy. Resources are exhausted. Morale is undermined. Physical and moral resistance is impaired.

Those who depend upon income from savings suffer from reduced interest, rent, or dividends and, in many cases, this reduction has now gone to the vanishing point. But workers who lose their jobs are obviously more disastrously affected than the average investor since their margin of security is smaller.

Religious prophets have always denounced the gross inequality between the incomes on the one hand of those who toil in factory, mine, farm and office, and of those, on the other hand, who by inheritance, or privilege of ownership, or speculative investment derive an income not earned by actual service. The simple and searching comment of Jesus, when the rich young man whom Jesus loved at sight went away sorrowful because he had great possessions, needs to be remembered: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter the Kingdom of God." The constant suggestion of the parables of Jesus is that great wealth in the midst of poverty is a hindrance to the good life. This is still the fact. Inequality is a peril to the rich because it tempts them to a narrowing of their sympathies and a false scale of values. It is a curse to the poor because it means misery for under-

(Continued on page 335)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CIX MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 1932 Number 21

BIGOTRY

Bigotry has no head and cannot think, no heart and cannot feel. When she moves, it is in wrath; when she pauses it is amid ruin. Her prayers are curses, her god is a demon, her communion is death, her vengeance is eternal, her decalogue written in the blood of her victims; and if she stops for a moment in her infernal flight, it is upon a kindred rock to whet her vulture fang for a more sanguinary desolation.—*Daniel O'Connell.*

This month marks the fifth anniversary of the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. In recognition of this melancholy occasion we publish in this issue an article of the first importance, written by Mr. E. H. James, of Massachusetts, one of the most tireless and unselfish seekers after truth in the Sacco-Vanzetti cause. This article has intense interest in itself as a story of personal adventure. But its real importance, as well as interest, lies in its impressive evidence that the Sacco-Vanzetti case has not been closed, that lips will yet speak to confound the words and deeds of those responsible for the tragic execution in Charlestown Prison a half-decade ago. This famous case has again and again been compared to the Dreyfus case in France. In nothing is the comparison more valid than in the fact that the Sacco-Vanzetti case will not allow itself to be ended. It lives, in spite of every effort to bury it deep, deep with the bones of the two martyrs. This is the more remarkable since, in this later case, the condemned men are dead and thus beyond all recall to belated justice. Dreyfus, languishing year after year on Devil's Island, was a constant reminder of his wrong, and a challenge to the world to bring him succor. It is not surprising that, in due course, relief came to the tortured prisoner. But the very fact that Sacco and Vanzetti have suffered the last full measure of oppression, that they cannot be saved in body but only in name, offers its own especial stimulus to efforts on their behalf. After all, in the long perspective of the ages, it was Justice itself which was slain that fateful night in Massachusetts. When Sacco and Vanzetti died, the orbits of the stars were warped, and darkness made perpetual across the heavens. This universe will not be right until these men are vindicated. Hence does their memory still endure, and Truth strive on within the hearts of faithful men to raise dead Justice from her Charlestown tomb and thus restore her unto life.

The Lausanne Economic Conference ended, and the Geneva Disarmament Conference adjourned, last month. The former did something; the latter has done nothing. Of the importance of the Lausanne Conference it is difficult to speak, so great it seems. One's enthusiasm and hope may well run away with one's judgment, especially as the agreement reached is conditional upon other agreements still to come. But if the results of the Conference should end right here, if all future hope of accomplishments were blasted, there would still be enough left to justify the belief that, as Senator Borah has put it, Lausanne is "the most important step taken since the War." In at least three respects, this Conference was epoch-making. It marked the drawing together of the nations of Europe, more especially France and Germany, in the great business of putting their house in order, of rescuing the continent from the chaos of the War and after. Secondly, it marked the beginning of the end of the Versailles Treaty. Revision of that sacrosanct and abominable document has now begun; thus started, it is certain to go on, even to the elimination of the war-guilt clause. Europe's "Old Man of the Sea," in other words, is at last being shaken off! Thirdly, the Lausanne Conference marked the end of German reparations. A year ago we knew that Germany would never pay another mark on this infamous charge; now the world consents, and the figures are wiped off the books! It is true, to be sure, that the lifting of reparations was made conditional upon the cancellation of the debts due the United States. But this is a mere technicality; whatever the action taken by this country, reparations are done with forever. But what about this debt business? Shall America complete the work of Lausanne by cancelling the debts? Yes!—*on condition* that this cancellation be linked up, first, with the Disarmament Conference to the end of real disarmament, and, secondly, as Senator Borah has proposed, with a new economic conference to the end of settling the various problems—lower tariffs, restoration of the gold standard, stabilization of silver, etc.—which still vex the world. These things must follow. But whether they follow or not, Lausanne just as it stands has achieved more than even the most sanguine had dared to hope. Perhaps the corner has been turned, after all!

As for the Geneva Disarmament Conference, the less said, perhaps, the better. We do not often find ourselves in agreement with Mussolini, but we fail to see how anybody can dissent from the Duce's judgment that the accomplishments of this Conference fall so far short of the expectations of mankind that they are not worthy even of endorsement. As a matter of fact, of course, there are no accomplishments. For six months the delegates have been dilly-dallying on the shores of Lake Leman, having a gorgeous time, we have no doubt, but failing, or refusing, utterly to come to grips with the most terrific problem now burdening the race. The armament situation has a two-fold significance. On the one hand, it is at this very moment ruining the world through the intolerable expenditures for arms; on the other hand, it is promising at any moment tomorrow to plunge the world into the unimaginable horror of another war. Yet in the face of this dual disaster, the one immediate and the other potential, these Geneva delegates have been content to amuse themselves with futile discussions about banning certain particularly hideous types of weapons, establishing distinction between offensive and defensive arms, and balancing certain ratios of reduction. Walter Lippman, whistling valiantly in the graveyard of his hopes, finds encouragement in the fact that the nations are actually meeting to discuss disarmament, that they have kept together for six months without murdering one another, and that they have actually endorsed the principle of banning poisonous gases, certain huge-calibre guns, etc. But has Mr. Lippman forgotten that all these things were successfully done at least a score of years ago, with no other result than the Great War of 1914? The Disarmament Conference to date is a complete failure, and anybody who allows the adjournment resolution to persuade him otherwise is simply one who prefers to be deceived rather than to face disagreeable truth. Yet we are not ourselves utterly discouraged. There is hope—hope that the total collapse of every endeavor to accomplish partial or progressive disarmament will convince the world at last that only immediate and universal disarmament is practicable! Our editorial colleague and Geneva correspondent, Sydney Strong, has said this from the beginning. Events are proving him right.

Germany is in a sad plight. Unless all signs fail, she seems fated to lose all that great body of sympathy and understanding that has been growing so rapidly during the past decade. At the very moment, in other words, when France is losing her long and stubborn battle against the revision of the Versailles Treaty, and Germany thus on the very verge of gaining complete rehabilitation, the Reich is turning her back on the new day, and heading back toward the dark and dreadful past. The discarding of Bruening and the appointment of Von Papen, the violent overthrow of democratic government in Prussia, and the establishment of the mailed-fist dictatorship, the threat of armaments following hard upon the lifting of reparations, and the new triumph of Hitlerism in the July 31st election —what are these but so many steps toward the destruction of the German Republic and the restoration of some form of monarchy? There may be ample reason for the return of Kaiserism. History might well interpret such an event as the last harvest grown from the sowing of the dragon's teeth of French post-war militarism. Had France been from the beginning as friendly and cooperative toward the new Germany as she has at last now been forced to be by the stern logic of events, the Weimar Republic would have flourished, and now have been a center of European security and strength. But however true all this may be as a reading of cause and effect, it still remains a fact that the old Germany, if returned, will never be accepted by the world. Present policies in the Reich inevitably mean the loss of all the pity and goodwill gained at so heavy a cost since 1919, and the beginning of the old story of hostility all over again. Developments must now be watched with bated breath. The July 31st election lifts the curtain of a drama as fateful as any that has gone before.

The Great Bonus War came to an end at last, and we count it a disgrace for everybody concerned. The chief burden of shame must rest, first, upon the American Legion, and, secondly, upon Congress. The Legion is to be blamed because years ago it initiated the policy of teaching the veterans that the U. S. Treasury was a private possession of the soldiers upon which they could draw at their own good will and pleasure. "The country is yours," said the Legion, "now loot it." Next, Congress must be blamed for telling "the boys" to come on, and take whatever they wanted. Representatives and senators of both parties, caring for nothing but votes and another election to enable them to earn easy money in Washington, encouraged the veterans to believe that all they had to do was to ask for money, and the government would hand it out. The Legion and Congress together created an atmosphere, a state of mind, which made almost inevitable an organized raid upon the capital in times like these. Then, we count the authorities seriously at fault in their treatment of the invading host. From the beginning there was hesitation, indecision, vacillation—at one time a pampering of the crowd which permitted all kinds of illegal liberties with public property, at another time a threatening of force and violence which, never made good, at last became a joke. From such a situation nothing could emerge but an explosion. It is to be remembered that these bonus-seekers had exactly the same right of petition as other citizens, and that they

were brought to Washington practically at the invitation of politicians of the Patman type. Once arrived, they should have been given every opportunity and privilege of reaching the government, President and all, and stating their grievances and demands. At the same time they should have been kept rigidly within the law that controls the common life of all communities. It is significant that, to the extent the invaders were regarded as veterans, they were treated with flattering attention. It was only when it was suspected or charged that they were Communists, that they were beaten up and ousted from the town. Let any group take on the taint of radicalism, and American authorities at once become panic-stricken.

We are glad to find one man who is not afraid to speak up and tell the truth about the so-called relief work that has been carried on in this country during the past year, and are not surprised to discover that this man is no less an authority than Roger Babson. It is not altogether a calamity that this relief is now coming to an end for lack of funds, nor is it an accident that the lack of funds has set in so early. For relief, as organized and carried on throughout the nation, is exactly what Mr. Babson describes it, "a racket."

Organized relief (he says) is benefiting the politicians more than the distressed unemployed. It is the biggest racket in the country, and all politicians, high and low, are its chief beneficiaries.

In New York City, with unparalleled affrontery, the enormous relief funds were deliberately used to advance the interests and serve the needs of the dominant political machine. The same was true, we have no doubt, in all other cities and towns, where the sudden control of huge sums of money gave the politicians an unsurpassed opportunity to cultivate their relations with favored groups of voters. One trembles to think of the uses which will be made of the millions about to be gobbled up by the political swine now rushing to the trough of public relief just set up in Washington. To say this is not to denounce public help for the masses of the unemployed. It is to denounce the exploitation of the need of these distressed millions of our fellow-citizens by conscienceless politicians who hungrily take advantage of any opportunity to get their hands upon the public treasury. Ghouls who rob the dead are respectable as compared with these political brigands who rob the starving. But what can we expect in a nation run upon the principle of "rugged individualism," which is the latest euphonious phrase for "each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost"? Scandal and crime of this description will never be ended until our government is transformed into some kind of scientific management for the public good. With the unemployment problem this means Unemployment Insurance—a system which is not hurt any by being contemptuously dubbed "the dole."

Economic Planning—Arguments Pro and Con

The old battle between the followers of classical *laissez faire* and the converts to the newer view of economic planning is raging throughout Europe and America. The sharpness of difference has of course been accentuated by the terrific collapse of our economic structure, by the challenge of Russian Communism and by the growth of Socialism everywhere. But the essential conflict between the two types of thinking is more or less basic to human kind, standing above the incidents and accidents of contemporary events.

Granting a certain background of education and of social influence, one will almost inevitably become a believer in *laissez faire*. Its values of freedom for the individual, its emphasis upon initiative and reward are natural to the person who belongs to the capitalist class. Not only is that government best for him which governs least, but that economic system is best which puts least restraint upon the creative mind. Grant us, he pleads, above all other liberties, the liberty to experiment and explore,—to free oneself from the tyranny of custom and majority. Give us the right to find new and better ways of doing things, and above all do not make us submit to the long disheartening process of convincing the average politician that an economic process such as smelting steel or driving an engine can be improved. Let us keep invention mobile and industry on such a free basis that it can and will improve. Preserve the spur of competition which in a brief span of years has developed the one cylinder gasoline buggy of the early 1900's into the smooth purring luxurious coach of today.

It is true that the great industrialist makes a fortune, but so also he puts men to work; and above all he produces a commodity which the worker himself will crave and at such a low price that he can afford it!

Is the record of politics in America, for instance, so inspiring that we want to turn our economic destiny over to city councils, state legislatures and national congresses? If *laissez faire* is wasteful what about graft? Is the democratic process applicable to the economic life? We may muddle along in politics by the will of the people and the grace of God, but surely the production and distribution of automobiles and refrigerators is something totally different.

In the economic field, let there be competition and let the best win! If there is loss, it is the poorest product which loses. If there is seeming momentary chaos, it is better than a long term of bull-headed unintelligent control.

Besides, where are the brains big and wise enough

to know how to control this complex, interrelated vast network of economic life? Is there a man alive who comprehends the full implications of international trade, of tariffs, of monetary systems, of supply and demand? We doubt if such a Jove-like mind exists, and if he did exist, would he be chairman of the committee to fix prices?

Control? We have had it. Control of railroads, and now look at them! Control of tariff, and now look at business! Control of international debts, and see the debacle! Is the success of control so inspiring that we want more? The Versailles Peace Treaty is an example of Economic Planning by the great minds of Europe and America, with almost unlimited technical advisers to help them. Did they do such a superlatively good job that we want to duplicate it? The successive European conferences of statesmen struggling with the problem of debts has not so far brought forth a Utopia.

Why not let nature take its course? Supply and demand will in due time right the present maladjustment. The more we interfere with nature the worse things grow. Remove the muddling and blundering control, then our economic life will return to its true course.

Such are the arguments of the disciple of *laissez faire,* and they are sufficiently well founded to give us pause. In view of their serious challenge will it be wise to plunge into a policy of artificial control and embark upon an untried system whose benefits are speculative to say the least?

Let us see. The proponents of control have some sound and stimulating points of view to offer in opposition to some of the older arguments of the classical school.

First they declare that economic law is not to be compared with a law of Nature, as if human beings were unconscious atoms in a mechanized relationship. Economics is not like physics, chemistry and astronomy with their relatively exact laws, but is a science concerning human beings whose wants and abilities change with time and place. There is no "iron law" of wages or of supply and demand regulating price. There are wars and times of peace, there are periods of prosperity and depression, conditions of confidence and fear. All these situations and "mind-sets" profoundly affect men's relations to commodities and to one another.

Slowly, painfully, there evolves a sense of justice in relation to workers. This sense is outraged by the old *laissez faire* methods. We must protect the poor, the unemployed, lest they become broken by undernourishment, bad housing and disease. The social conscience is developing to a point where we cannot brook the idea of starvation slowly righting itself. We must see that men have food, clothing and shelter even if we have to break the laws of classical economics to do it. There come times when common justice and humanity lift our values above those of profit and competition.

Again, the proponent of planning points to the fact that *laissez faire* was a philosophy adapted to a time of industrial pioneering, but that it is a decided cultural lag in these days when industry has developed into a highly interdependent system throughout the world. Any pioneer civilization can afford to work the principle of individualism. But now industrial pioneering has passed into a new phase. New products of course may be freely invented, but industrialism, whether in the United States or Russia, has now become a gigantic world-system dependent upon credits and international security.

Such being the case, planning must now step in as the only philosophy which is adequate to the situation. The European nations cannot pull themselves out of the present slump by waiting for some magic of nature, either physical or human, to happen. Every man of sense knows that there must be some plan of disarmament, tariff reduction, return of confidence, and stabilized employment, before economic conditions will right themselves. And these desired conditions *cannot* just happen. They can come only in so far as men control the life of the world.

Again, and the upholder of this new theory feels that it is a most important argument—control is just beginning to find itself; and no one can expect it to work particularly well until it has passed through the trial and error stage. *Laissez faire* certainly worked havoc at the beginning. We cannot expect that any new system will become perfect at a single leap at one particular moment in history. Any great system of running human affairs has to take time. Suppose the agricultural credits or the reconstruction finance board do not produce all that is hoped from them? Has any other human institution ever performed 100 per cent of the hopes that were placed in it? These new experiments are apt to prove faulty, but give men *time.* We learn from experience even if we do not learn as much as we wish.

Legislatures, banks, and business men are getting some lessons in how to do it as well as how *not* to do it. This experience is being treasured as a part of our social machinery, and gradually we are storing up a great body of learning which can be drawn upon increasingly in the future. Today we are embarking upon great undertakings of road construction and other public works, because in the past economists and unemployment committees have learned what to do in times of emergency.

Grant that economic planning has disclosed many weaknesses and that we are badly prepared to administer it,—we are not wholly without precedent and we

are not wholly unprepared, and planning has *not* wholly failed.

Finally, what else can we do in times like these? As stated above, we cannot let millions starve, even if we bungle and graft in the prevention of it! *Laissez faire* has certainly no policy in the present emergency for meeting our demands for justice and common humanity. With the increasing tempo of technological change, with the rapid communication which makes trade international, with increasing sensitiveness of business to credit, *laissez faire* promises a precarious outlook at most.

Economic planning, whether under an enlightened capitalism or under a moderate socialism seems to be more nearly an adequate philosophy for the present day than the older lazy fairy which was supposed to hover over the world with the secret of happiness and prosperity. CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

New Light Coming on the Sacco-Vanzetti Case*

I—The Witness, Buda

On a mass of reddish rock which rises out of the deep blue waters of the Mediterranean Sea lives a man today who knows, in his own heart, of the innocence or of the guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti. The name of the island is Ponza, and the name of the man is Mario Buda. Thousands of people throughout the world are convinced of the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti, but their conviction is to a great extent a matter of faith, and is not based on such direct knowledge as would belong to those who had been personal witnesses to the facts brought against Sacco and Vanzetti. Many Italians spoke in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti at the time of the trials and their evidence, in point of numbers, overwhelmingly proved that Sacco and Vanzetti were not present, that they were elsewhere than at Bridgewater and at South Braintree, at the time when the crimes were committed. The evidence of these Italians was, however, roughly and somewhat contemptuously brushed aside on the ground that, being Italians, their testimony was not worthy of credence.

When I asked Mario Buda, on the occasion of a visit to him four years ago on the island of Lipari, why he had not come forward to give his testimony in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti he said to me: "If the jury and the judge would not believe all the Italians who spoke for them, why would the judge and jury believe me?"

Taken at a disadvantage, flouted and insulted in open court because of their political ideas, Sacco and Vanzetti were called upon to face a charge of murder which was hypothecated, fabricated and constructed upon their connection with Mario Buda. The jury was taken to see Buda's house and shed. It was explained to the jury that Buda was the chief of the bandits. Buda had stolen and hidden the "bandit" car, etc. Here was the foundation of the case. Buda was not on hand to challenge any of these statements. The Massachusetts police appear to have made no effort to arrest Buda and no indictment was placed against him. Buda in December, 1920, came to Italy, where he lived for seven years with his mother, in Savignano. Two days before the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti he was arrested by the Fascisti authorities and sent to an island reserved for political prisoners, for five years. There is nothing on the record against him in Rome, other than his anti-Fascist opinions, but Buda says that at the time when he was arrested in Savignano rumors had been spread there of the "bad things" he had done when he was in the United States. These rumors may be taken, perhaps, as a factor in his arrest.

On April 19 last, Dante Sacco (son of Ferdinand Sacco) and I, after a six hours' tempestuous voyage from Naples, stepped onto the island of Ponza. Buda was awaiting us on the shore. He put his arms around Dante and kissed him on both cheeks. He had known Dante when the latter was a child in his father's house in Stoughton. What Buda will say and how he will say it are things reserved for the future. He will be, in all likelihood, released from Ponza in August. On returning to Savignano he will be obliged to re-establish himself in some kind of a business, for the small business of shoe manufacturing with which he had maintained himself prior to his arrest has been destroyed, and he has at the present time no money with which to re-establish it. I have seen him now twice, and I have corresponded with him for four years. It is not important for me to give my own impressions of his character, for such things are too subtle for expression here and they have only a personal value for myself.

From Ponza, Dante Sacco and I proceeded to Fano, where we saw Orciani (see below). From there we went to Savignano, the home of Buda. There we saw his nephew, Ettore Buda, and his mother, now eighty years old. Savignano is a clean place. Every time I go to Italy the country seems to be cleaner than when I was there last. This town is under the police jurisdiction of a "questore" who lives in the near-by city of Forli. This official has charge of Buda's case. In the proper quarters in Rome we had asked for an introduction to him, and the introduction was to be sent to him direct, by letter. We called on the "questore" before the introduction had reached him, but he made us feel completely at our ease. We found an elderly man with white hair, who was ready to talk with us at length about the case of Mario Buda, without any formalities whatever. He said:

"Never mind about any introduction. Just tell me what you want."

Ettore Buda, Dante and I had been sitting in a café, coaching each other on what we were going to say to the "questore." Whatever was to be said must be said in Italian and Dante was the one to put it across. Dante talked well to the "questore." I must admit it. I had all down on paper in English what was to be said to the "questore." I handed the sentences out in English to Dante. He turned them into Italian and handed them out to the "questore." The "questore" seemed to like Dante. That was a big point gained and a step which might lead to the "questore"

*Sacco and Vanzetti were executed five years ago, on August 22, 1927.—Editor.

taking a friendly interest in Mario Buda when the latter comes home to Savignano after a five years' imprisonment on Lipari and on Ponza. Had Buda's connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti affair anything to do with his being arrested in Italy? The "questore" looked over Buda's dossier and told us that nothing of that kind appeared in the dossier. The only reason for the arrest was that Buda had been looked upon as a "dangerous anarchist." The arrest had been a matter which had regarded only Buda's supposed political opinions.

Would Buda, on returning to Savignano, be allowed to discuss in a full, open and public manner all he knows about the Sacco-Vanzetti case?

The "questore's" reply was very clear on this point.

"Certainly, provided Buda does not introduce political questions into what he says."

In other words, the "questore" was quite willing to have the Sacco-Vanzetti case explained, provided the case was not used for any kind of political propaganda.

We told the "questore" that in our opinion Buda could clear Sacco and Vanzetti. He was sympathetic to our point of view, but expressed his doubt that the verdict against Sacco and Vanzetti could ever be reversed on the testimony of any one man.

A road seemed to be opened here for getting away from the twisted mess of political propaganda which five years ago led the Italian authorities to suppress all public demonstrations in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti. Everywhere in Italy prevails a universal sympathy for Sacco and Vanzetti, coupled with an utter and grotesque ignorance of the real facts in the case.

Here perhaps is Buda's chance. He told me on Ponza that when he is liberated his intention is to ask for an interview with Mussolini. Buda realizes now that what he knows has value, and that what he has to say will be listened to with respect by his own people. The argument brought against the credibility of the Italian witnesses at the Plymouth trial and the Dedham trial, that they were "wops," "dagoes," Italians, foreigners, is not an argument from which Buda has much to fear when he is speaking to his own people in Italy. They will look him over, take his record and judge him for what he is as a man.

II—The Witness, Orciani

On the evening before Christmas in 1927 I arrived in Fano, a city of Italy, in the province of Forli, situated on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. I had come to Italy to find Mario Buda and Riccardo Orciani, principal witnesses in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. I had obtained information in Boston that Buda ("Mike Buda") was living with his mother in his native town of Savignano, province of Forli. Orciani had been present in Boston for more than a year after the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti. He had been employed as chauffeur by Fred Moore, chief counsel for Sacco-Vanzetti, prior to and up to the conclusion of the Dedham trial. After that time he disappeared, leaving no trace behind him. Buda and Orciani simply passed into oblivion, so far as the case was concerned. These two men had gone with Sacco and Vanzetti to Johnson's garage on the night of May 5, 1920. Orciani had been arrested, May 6, interrogated by Katzmann, held a week in the Brockton jail and then released, upon proof from his employers in Norwood that he had been working in their foundry at the times when the West Bridgewater crime and the South Braintree crime had been committed. Fred Moore never put Orciani on the stand to testify in favor of the defendants, although Orciani was available. The failure to do so operated unfavorably against the defendants. Why Moore failed to put Orciani on the stand can only be ascertained today from a complete study of Orciani and of all that he underwent from the time that he was arrested and interrogated by Katzmann in the Brockton jail. Moore had taken Orciani's deposition, and this paper had been preserved in the office of the defense committee. From this paper I learned that Orciani had been born in the town of Fano. I reasoned that if he had left the United States there was a good probability that he had returned to his native town of Fano.

When I reached Fano on Christmas eve, 1927, I was accompanied by Sabatino Finocchio, a young Italian who works as a gardener for me in the United States. He was taking a vacation in Italy, and he came along with me to Fano as an interpreter. We put up in a hotel which had the air of being a disused palace, and going into dinner we found that the chief dish on the menu was eels.

This reminded me of Vanzetti's first trial, and of how he had proved that on the day before Christmas, 1919, he had been distributing eels to the Italian colony in Plymouth.

I asked the landlady of the hotel to tell me something about these eels. She said it was the custom all over Italy to eat eels on the day before Christmas.

The next morning we asked the landlady if she knew anyone in Fano by the name of Riccardo Orciani. There were Orciani families in the town, but she failed to find any trace of any one bearing the name of Riccardo. A street leading out of the city passes under a great arch bearing the inscription, "To divine Caesar Augustus." Going under divine Caesar's arch, we asked some men if they knew Riccardo Orciani. They pointed to a region lying outside the city, beyond the walls, and they said, "He lives over there."

This seemed like a Christmas miracle. We came to a row of houses inhabited by people who seemed to be living in considerable poverty and we knocked on the door which had been indicated to us. The door was opened by a man of about 35 years of age who was smoking a pipe. I asked in English:

"Is this Riccardo Orciani?"

He answered in English that that was his name. I told him that I had come from the United States to find him and that I wished to talk with him about the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Riccardo waited a long time and then he said:

"I think you have been sent over by Katzmann to arrest me."

Sabatino told me afterwards that Riccardo was so scared that the pipe nearly fell out of his mouth.

It took me two days to gain Riccardo's confidence. Ida, his wife, said to me: "Of course we don't know who you are." At the end of two days I had persuaded Ida and Riccardo that I was not working for Katzmann. I luckily had some letters in my pocket from Luigia Vanzetti which helped to prove that my objects were respectable and my character good. At my request, Riccardo went up to Savignano to tell Buda that I wanted to see him. He returned with the information that on August 20, 1927, two days before

the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, Buda had been arrested by the Fascisti authorities and sent *al confino* for five years. He had found Buda's aged mother in tears, living alone and evidently suffering from the lack of fire-wood and other necessities.

That all happened four years ago, and since then I have remained friends with Riccardo and Ida Orciani.

A few days ago Dante Sacco and I arrived in Fano and went to the same hotel which is still haunted with the faded glory of a disused palace. The landlady said to me: "Of course I recognize you. You are the friend of Sacco and Vanzetti who was here before." She made us welcome and gave us the matrimonial suite of rooms to sleep in. In the evening we went to call on Riccardo. He put his arms around Dante, kissed him on both cheeks and said, "Bravo, Dante!" Riccardo had been a close friend of Dante's father and had known Dante when the latter was a child.

The story about Riccardo is as follows: He was arrested while at work at the foundry in Norwood, brought to the Brockton jail, and there submitted to a long string of questions put to him by Katzmann in the presence of four police officers. Riccardo was panic-stricken by the manner in which Katzmann dealt with him and he suffers from fright to this day. It is sufficient to recall an incident which happened to Sacco at that time to show what these men were submitted to in the Brockton jail. A crowd of people were admitted to the jail to look at Sacco. These people were asked if they could identify Sacco as one of the bandits. He was obliged to go down on his knees and simulate the position of a man who is shooting with a revolver. A woman in the crowd hurled out at him the following remark: "You dirty rotten cur." This remark was allowed to pass without any reprimand from the police who were present.

Such incidents help us to understand why Orciani, in the Brockton jail, should have been panic-stricken. He was not obliged to answer Katzmann's questions, but like Sacco and Vanzetti, he did not know what his rights were in this respect. He denied to Katzmann that he knew Sacco and Vanzetti and he denied that he had gone with them and Buda to the Johnson garage on the previous evening. The denials which Orciani made to Katzmann and which the latter reduced to writing may have influenced Fred Moore not to put Orciani on the stand in the Dedham trial.

Orciani is not an Anarchist. His life is taken up working as a teamster with a horse and cart, in earning a meagre living for his wife and three young children, all of whom were born in Hyde Park, Mass. So far as he has time to indulge in political philosophy, his sympathies seem to go out in the direction of the Communists. He said to me four years ago: "You understand there is a big difference between the Anarchists and the Communists." Since then he has done two years of military service and he tells me now that he likes the life of a soldier and would like to be a soldier again. In Fano he is living close to his father and mother, his brother and sisters. Orciani is a rough, blunt, open-hearted, hard-working, manly type. There is only one man in the world that he is really afraid of, and that is Katzmann. When I asked him why he had disappeared from Boston after having helped Moore all through the Dedham trial, he answered:

> I thought that Katzmann might change his mind about me and arrest me again. I went to New York City and lived there till February, 1922, when I came to Italy. Ida and the children stayed in Hyde Park and came to Italy afterwards.

We have, therefore, the history of Buda and Orciani, driven away from the United States by a reign of terror and by a conspiracy of forces which was too powerful for them to battle against. Their testimony was not given, and had it been given it probably, like the testimony of all the other Italians, would have counted for nothing.

I have often thought that it was unfortunate for Sacco and Vanzetti that in the early stages of the case there seemed to be a tendency on the part of some of the Italians with whom they were connected to bottle up important facts. Buda was shrouded in mystery; and at the conclusion of the Dedham trial, Orciani, who had kept himself on the spot up to the end of that trial, suddenly disappeared with his wife and children. Sacco and Vanzetti were therefore deprived of the testimony of these two important witnesses at the time of the trial. But I myself am reconciled to the fact that their testimony was not given at the trial, for considering the biased temper of the judge and jury, their testimony would have counted for nothing in the final outcome. In any further revision of the case, no matter what form it may take, their testimony may be introduced, and it will have a freshness and a value which the lapse of time can not diminish. One step will lead to another. Orciani will come into the picture. He will get rid of his fear of Katzmann. Buda and Orciani will have an audience.

EDWARD HOLTON JAMES.

Geneva, Switzerland.

Remember Our Martyrs

March of Love

(To Sacco and Vanzetti)

Only marching men could free you? No!
For marching men have always starkly failed
And evil ruled where merely force prevailed.
But marching years and love's creative flow
Are leading men where you would have them go.
For hatred turned the switch where you were jailed
But love upheld while brutal power flailed
You both who bore the seed that time shall sow.

Your murderers should be forgiven? Yes!
For who were they but every one of us?
Your parting words with truth and mercy shine.
Who lacks in love is fathering distress.
A world alone of love, not plunderous,
Can offer you, who loved, a worthy shrine.

RALPH CHEYNEY.

Stand Close, Oh Martyred!

(For Sacco and Vanzetti)

You have not died in vain.
Your memory cheers us now
Who drive through ominous storm
The workers' plow.

Stand close, oh martyred ones,
In this great time of need
That we may plant today
The dreamers' seed.

Stand close and lead us on
To climb the hill of toil.
Your flowers of love shall grow
From acrid soil.

LUCIA TRENT.

All Depends

Limbs of the mass are less than sheep or hog,
The rulers murder countless youthful sons
With crushing toil, machine and belching guns,
With lies that keep their brain in endless bog;
Few live to reach life's ordinary span,
They're fed and clothed enough to just survive
And mark their days by clank of iron and gyve,
Yet rot in jails for daring change of plan.

However, if a master's offspring die,
Then what a howl these sufferers let out!
You'd think it rarer flesh—weighed by the shout
And hiss, they must have more than eye for eye;
Their judgment seems to ape the two-edged sword,
The stress depends upon whose ox is gored.

WILBY HEARD.

Underground Rhythm

Clicking through the subway station sound the heels of multitudes:
Patient, hurrying men and women, seeking out their daily tasks.
On their faces are reflected curious faiths and diverse moods;
And the end the soul is seeking, no one asks.

But a mighty song is rising from the rhythm of their heels:
"Courage! Courage!" sings the chorus, in monotonous refrain.
"We are carrying one who labors, one who hides the grief he feels.
And our measure is humanity and pain!"

MARY OWEN LEWIS.

The Ordeal of Fire In India

A Series of Four Articles

By G. B. Halsted*

Dedicated to Mr. American Man-of-the-Street in whose intrinsic goodness, justice and love for the cause of the downtrodden and depressed of the world, I have unbounded confidence and who will, I firmly believe, when he comes to learn of the truth of the Indian bondage, yield his enlightened support to that great country's struggle for freedom!

1. *Mahatma Gandhi's Invitation to the Nation.*

Once again India has been plunged into that "Ordeal of fire," which Mahatma Gandhi ominously referred to so many times at the Round Tale Conference in London last fall. Once more the nation has "joyfully" accepted his invitation to suffer. Even children are "dancing" for joy among flying bullets, as Mahatmaji has taught them to, for there is no longer fear of death, suffering and jail in India. They are gladly courted in the fair name of liberty. In the midst of a severe economic depression, the commercial forces of the country have willingly thrown care to the winds and followed the India National Congress, even to jail. Hardly had the wounds of the last campaign healed, when India again turned to her foreign rulers and asked that more wounds be inflicted.

2. *Facts Leading to the Renewal of Civil Disobedience.*

To you, Mr. Man-of-the-Street, isolated from India by a tightly gagged press and a strenuous censorship of the mails, the fateful, swift events, following Gandhiji's arrival in Bombay, must be veiled with clouds of confusion, misunderstanding, even misgivings. You had read, I expect, the speeches of the Mahatma at the Round Table, and so you knew that the future was not too rosy, but I am sure you were not prepared, as we in India weren't, for all that actually took place and the swiftness of it, during that last fateful week when Gandhi had his freedom in his own land. But perhaps I can help blow away some of those clouds of confusion and misunderstanding, and certainly rob you of any misgivings that you may have had, and give you a glimpse of the solid, honest facts that brought about the renewal of civil disobedience and Gandhi's return to the seclusion of Yerwada Jail. My self-imposed task, which I count a privilege, for it in serving India and her magnificent people, shall lead both of us straight into the heart of the terrific, staggering distress of the tenant farmers of the United Provinces, for there lies the germ of the disease that is eating and destroying both India and the British Administration, and which ultimately will cause a rising of the peasants, call it a revolution, if you will. Before we sojourn to the United Provinces, on our dreary journey, I want to keep you right in Bombay, for a short time, and there begin the process of robbing you of some of your misgivings, if you had them, when the news came that India had restarted civil disobedience. I would like to recall to your mind that the Delhi Pact, also known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which concluded the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-31, did not involve the absolute surrender of the weapon of civil disobedience. It involved simply the temporary cessation of civil-disobedience, pending Gandhiji's attendance at the Round Tale Conference. It is true that Gandhi expressed the hope, while there, that the Delhi Pact might become a permanent truce, but that depended largely on the Government's acceptance of the Congress claims. In the now-famous telegram of Dec. 31, 1931, sent by Gandhiji, on the eve of his arrest, to the Viceroy, he stressed the fact that civil disobedience had been only temporarily discontinued by the Delhi Pact, and not given up. To quote:

> May I remind the Government that the Delhi negotiations were opened and carried on whilst civil disobedience was on and that when the Pact was made civil disobedience was not given up but only discontinued. This position was reasserted and accepted by His Excellency and His Government in Simla in September. Although I made it clear that *under certain circumstances the Congress might have to resume civil disobedience,* the Government did not break off negotiations.

Also, in a letter written by Gandhiji, dated August 27, 1931, to Mr. Emerson, Home Secretary to the Government of India, which letter became an integral part of the Simla agreement, already referred to, it was said that, "if unfortunately *any grievance is so acutely felt that it becomes a paramount duty of the Congress to seek some method of relief,* in the absence of an enquiry, *in the shape of defensive direct action, the Congress should be held free to adopt such remedy,* notwithstanding the suspension of civil disobedience." The "certain circumstances" and "the grievances so acutely

*For three years a worker in the educational and missionary field in India, and was recently asked to leave India because of his sympathy with her cause.—Editor.

felt" had matured, in terms of suffering men and women, as you shall presently see.

3. *A Fallacy Exploded.*

When the news was broadcast to the anxious world that the Congress was again to launch civil disobedience, the die-hards of the Government, and the Anglo-Indian Press, and others who take their cues from these sources, immediately sent up the shout, "Gandhi has sold out to the extremists—he has been overpowered by them, etc." They also, gleefully, for it always seems a source of joy to some people to "get something" on India, pointed out that Gandhi's lieutenants in the United Provinces, particularly Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Mohan lal Saxsena, Pandit Govindh Ballabh Pant, Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani and others had played the hand of the Mahatma to such an extent, that it was now impossible to call the game off. In connection with the former shouts, the statement of the Mahatma made just before he went to jail will be significant,

> It grieves me (he said) to find the suggestion being made that I was overborne by my extremist colleagues. I am the arch-extremist. I have not found colleagues who have given me more loyal allegiance than has been given me during the last four days. There has been no goading on the part of my colleagues, and all resolutions and telegrams have been drafted by me. They have accepted me as an expert in these matters and left the whole field open to me. We discussed for a long time and the sense was that we may pass the tentative resolution but not publish it. (The resolution referred to is the one dealing with Government's violation of the Delhi Pact and the renewal of Civil Disobedience, if the Government did not accept the terms proposed by the Congress.) It was I who said "no." If I suppressed it, I would be unfair to the Viceroy and the nation. He . . . I said, the Viceroy, must be placed in possession of the full facts. They agreed.

The following pages will enable you to judge as to how far Gandhi's lieutenants played his hand, and why.

4. *Agrarian Distress in the United Provinces.*

Now we turn to the real source of the whole trouble—the Agrarian distress in the United Provinces, particularly, and, in a lesser degree, the distress of the masses all over India.

The only true approach to an understanding of the distress among the farmers in the United Provinces is found through an intimate knowledge of conditions as they really are in its villages and hamlets, and through a grasp of the antiquated, medieval feudal land tenure system that prevails there.

The United Provinces is about the size of the state of Arizona, its total area being 112,562 square miles. Within this Province there are 33,000,000 acres of cultivated land. This acreage is worked by a total of 6,600,000 families. When we make allowances for certain districts where "12 acre holdings are worth no more than a 6 acre holding anywhere else," we find that the average holding per family is between 3½ to 4 acres. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Member of Parliament, quotes a "well-informed Indian journalist" as showing that the average holding of acreage in one district in the United Provinces, the Allahabad District, is as low as "only 4/5 of an acre." On the other hand, Government officials have publicly stated that the area of a holding, to be economically sound, must be "not less than 20 acres per family and preferably 30 to 50 acres."

5. *Enormous Density of Population in Rural Areas.*

As can easily be surmised from the few facts given thus far, the density of the population in the rural areas is very high. According to the 1921 Census Report, 64% of the total population of the U. P. live in the villages. In the District of Gonda, the density goes as high as 750 persons per cultivated square mile. In other districts it is even higher, although the average density would be about 550 persons to the square mile of tillable land. However, we should remember that the population in the rural areas of India is continually increasing. "Between the years 1911 and 1921, the proportion of agricultural to the entire population in the U. P. rose from 733 to 768 per thousand. Also, if the figures for 1891 and 1921 are compared it is found that while the total population of the U. P. decreased in that period, the number of cultivators has increased. In 1901 cultivators formed 52% of the population; in 1921, they were 64%. Experts predict that the recent Census will show an even greater movement of people from the city to the village, due largely to "the decrease in the numbers engaged in indigenous arts and crafts and industry," a direct effect of the Government policy of crippling infant Indian industries and trades.

6. *Unequal Distribution of Land and Wealth.*

According to the 1921 Census, a little over three hundred thousand of the total population of the U. P. were landowners, nine hundred of these three hundred thousand owned enough land to pay a yearly revenue or tax to the Government of Rs. 5,000 ($1,666), or more, and 203 had estates large enough to pay Rs. 20,000 ($6,666), or more. The Estate of Balrampur, which is the largest single holding by an individual landlord in the U. P., is 1,250 square miles in extent, and includes 3,409 villages with a total population of three-quarters of a million. This Estate pays a yearly tax of $166,000, and the gross income is $1,500,000 a year. These facts tell their own story, not only of the gross and wicked maldistribution of the wealth in the U. P., but of the inestimable poverty of the masses, who toil that these conditions might be so. It might be valuable for me to note here for your benefit, Mr. Man-of-the-Street, that the landlord, as a class and in his present strong position, is a fairly new development in India.

> Under the Mogul Empire all land was owned theoretically and actually by the State. Land taxes were collected by persons who were permitted to keep a portion of the proceeds as a commission. The British East India Company, whether through ignorance or through policy, converted these tax farmers into landlords, Zemindars, and conferred upon them the ownership of the soil.

Thus the origin of the landlord.

7. *Unearned Profits of the Landlords.*

If we subtract the amount of revenue paid to the Government by these landlords, from the total rentals received by them from their tenants, we can get a figure that will indicate in any year the amount of unearned profit that goes into their pockets, to be used for tiger hunts, more motor cars, larger palaces, etc. Let us take the year 1928-29 as an example. In that year the landlords paid to Government Rs. 826 lakhs ($27,533,333) in revenue, while they received from the tenants Rs. 1,880 lakhs ($62,666,666). Thus these parasitic creatures received unearned money up to the amount of Rs. 1,054 lakhs ($35,133,333), most of which was deposited in the coffers of the 203 big landlords, whose revenues were Rs. 20,000 ($6,666) a year or more.

8. *Legislatures Controlled by Landlords.*

Let me here note for you a very important fact

to be borne in mind constantly throughout this section. The Government of the United Provinces, the so-called Legislative Council, is almost entirely in the hands of these big landowners, a thing which we might expect, I suppose. The qualifications of members to the U. P. Legislative Council from rural constituencies requires either ownership of land and the payment of an annual revenue of not less than Rs. 25 ($8.00) or possessing the status of a permanent tenure holder or fixed-rate tenant and the annual payment of Rs. 50 ($16) for rent. In addition there are qualifications having to do with the ownership of one's house, or the amount of rent to be paid, if a tenant, etc. All in all, although the requirements seem so absurdly reasonable, they suffice to keep real representatives of the village out of the Legislative body of the Province. This is true all over India, to a great extent. It might be added that the only friends, then, that the villagers have in the Council Halls are congressmen, usually elected from urban constituencies, where the requirements are quite different, or a mere handful of friendly, sympathetic landlords, whose sympathy has, in most cases, been aroused through the influence of the Congress. Congressmen of late years have been more out of the Councils than in, due to the Congress programme of boycott of the legislative machinery of the Government. In addition to the above requirements for Council members from rural areas, which bar the great majority of farmers from even standing for election, we must remember that Indian politics, especially under British rule, have not been free from corruption. It costs money to "win" a seat in the Council, and only those who "have" are called. The Government of India has found these landlord-dominated assemblies and councils splendidly helpful in hours of dire need, as when the tenants showed signs of organized resistance against the tyranny of the landlords, or when the Congress began to press its claims too forcibly. The combination of the Indian Princes, as outer bulwarks, and the big landlords, as the inner, have constituted a more potent cause for the continuance of the Indian bondage than the diplomatic or administrative skill of the Britishers, or the conventional arguments advanced against Indian freedom. Perhaps the very constituency of these legislative halls explains in a great measure why so little effective legislation has been passed to ease the position of the cultivators in India. I rather suspect there have been times when the British themselves have found these landlord majorities the wrenches that kept the legislative machinery from running smoothly, that is, when the Congress wrenches were extracted. Of course the wrenches were of quite different makes, and had distinctly different effects on the machinery. To sharply change the metaphor it was either a case of too much grease or too much sand.

[*To be continued*]

Complete Total Disarmament Within Twelve Months

[From Our Special Correspondent]

I have often been accosted with the remark, "Well, you can't disarm the world in a day—why talk about total disarmament now?" My reply is, "It can be begun on the day when Mr. Henderson signs the agreement and the peoples on earth and in heaven have stopped cheering, and can be finished within twelve months, so that Mr. Henderson may pronounce the benediction."

I must assume that the Conference has been "compelled" to vote for total disarmament now. I have pointed out before some of the methods that may be used to bring about that blessed "compulsion." I have mentioned prayer, picketing and fasting as accredited methods for changing obstinate wills. These should have the approval of such high authority as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Roman Pontiff. Enough real prayer from the right kind of people could bring about the desired end. If Mr. Macdonald could get all of his Scotch countrymen on their knees agonizing for total disarmament (putting in half the time they do in golf)—it would reveal a return of the power of John Knox to overturn kingdoms! If Mr. Hoover could get all of his fellow-Quakers to exercise a persistent "concern" for total disarmament—I can see the spirit of Fox moving upon the American delegation to call immediately a special meeting of the Conference in order to push total disarmament before the British delegation beat them to this divine "goal."

It would help to "compel" the Conference, if prayer should be supplemented by some well-placed picketing, for delegates easily forget when in the whirligig of diplomacy. It would also help to "compel" action, if prayer should be supplemented by some well-located fasting, or hunger-strikes. If the "first-born" in the families of the cabinet members of the half-hundred nations should go on a hunger-strike for total disarmament—I can see some of the "leaders" changing their minds at once. This would touch the right spot, for while all may not believe in "economic determinism"—nearly all are moved by "stomach determinism." Withholding beefsteaks might even be enough!

Assuming, now, that the delegates of the Conference—some bright morning after they had fumigated their minds of all war-germs, and had recalled the glorious words they spoke in the early days of the Conference—should vote to proceed to put into effect, at once, world total disarmament.

What have I to offer?

My instant response is, *complete total disarmament could be effected within twelve months . . .* I can give my reason in four words.

It has been done. The Germans and their Allies were half disarmed within ninety days. They could have been completely disarmed in the same period. Messrs. Lloyd George, Boncour, Grandi, Benes, Simon and Company know that; and they know the men who did it. The Germans could supply supplementary information, and would be happy to offer experts to assist. Henry Ford would buy the most of the junk, Eric Drummond's Secretariat could here be useful, while the Labor Organization Annex would be able to take note of much useful information for future generations, giving them cause for raising a Te Deum, that they were *not* as their fathers who ate human flesh and slaughtered each other by the million by machines conceived in hell and manufactured in America, Britain, France, and other civilized (?) nations! *Complete total disarmament can be effected within twelve months. . . . This was proved in the year of our Lord, 1919.*

With the utmost patience, because I wish to leave no stone unturned, I offer two helpful hints for Immediate Total Disarmament—good for statesmen and the unlearned as well!

1. Here is a helpful hint from Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, of Chicago. It is calculated to move upon the minds of the delegates to the Conference, so as to "compel" action for adoption of immediate total disarmament. She and Alfred Lief have been keeping it before the public. (Her address is Hotel de Russie, Geneva. His address is 135 West 79th street, New York City.) Mr. Lief obtained statements from ten or a dozen United States Senators to the effect that if three or four nations agreed, they would approve of having the plan of total disarmament thoroughly discussed by the Conference. Two or three stood for the United States coming out alone and pushing total disarmament before the Conference. . . . Mrs. Lloyd favors seeking to create a small bloc of nations, big or little, chiefly by moving on the seat of authority in the capitals of some of the European nations—this bloc to start a movement within the Conference in favor of total disarmament.

2. Mrs. Thora Daugaard of Denmark makes this suggestion. It is intended to assist the Conference, by placing before them a plan that would commend itself because coming from a non-political source, and which would also be respected for its ability. She suggests that a group of people, large or small, anywhere in Europe, *knowing* what they were talking about (real experts), should get together and formulate a plan for the Immediate Disarmament of the Nations—this plan to be introduced to the Conference, through regular channels. . . . Of course, the Soviets have presented such a plan. Their plan, however, awakened political bias—so that its real merits were not sufficiently observed. . . . A new plan coming from the outside, sufficiently buttressed by non-political persons, would be likely to be received with consideration—especially when divine deadlock and overhanging depression had produced a "shipwreck" condition of mind on Messrs. Henderson, Benes, Herriot, Simon, Grandi and Company. . . . Regretfully, I recall, "The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be. The devil was well, the devil a monk was he." *Yet*—man is not a devil—often he makes for lofty heights—reaches them—and *stays there,* and holds aloft a banner of a free soul, which beckons his fellows to make for still greater heights. I am banking on the hope and belief that the delegates are not devils, but men and women, *children of God, and that they will now throw away the weapons of the devil!*

Mrs. Daugaard's suggestion is worth heeding. Who will be the first? There is every reason why intelligent people all over the world should be sending in practical methods for immediate total disarmament. Mrs. Daugaard may be reached care Women's International League, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva.

SYDNEY STRONG.

c/o The American Express,
Geneva, Switzerland.

The Study Table

Wisdom From the East

This book,* attractively bound and printed, is a collection or anthology of sayings on various problems of modern life by contemporary Indian thinkers. The sub-title terms it "a Symposium of Suggestions on Problems of Modern India." The editor, in his "Foreword," states his desire to correct the impression that India is a country lost in dreams of or meditations upon the past. He insists that "modern India thinks—thinks with passionate earnestness." To prove, or illustrate, this fact he has collected these writings and utterances of India's leaders at this moment. It is evident enough that the thought of the nation today is active, virile, foreward-looking, prophetic, as well as poetic and profound.

The passages quoted are classified under eleven separate headings, as follows: Civilization, Culture, Religion, Aesthetics, Ideals, Education, Work, Wisdom, Character, Nation-Building, and Social Service. Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi are conspicuous among the sources used—also Sir J. C. Bose, Prof. P. A. Wadia, G. K. Gokhale, Prof. Jadunah Sarkar, Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, and Swami Vivekanada. Among revolutionary leaders, in addition to Gandhi, are the late C. R. Das and Lajpat Rai, the two Nehrus, father and son, J. C. Kumarappa, editor of *Young India,* and Mme. Sarojini Naidu. It is interesting to a western reader to note that the thinker most generously quoted is unknown, at least to this reviewer—Sister Nivedita. That Dr. Annie Besant and Mr. C. F. Andrews should appear in such a collection as this is natural and proper; the same may be said, perhaps, of Lord Irwin. But it must be something of a shock to Indian readers, to say nothing of others, to find J. Ramsay MacDonald four times quoted as an interpreter of modern India.

The passages presented in this volume are most of them very brief—sometimes only a line. Others run to a half-page, or even a page.

All are choice selections. We trust the book may find a western publisher, that the mind of present-day India may be more widely known.

J. H. H.

*"Modern India Thinks," compiled by Keshavjee R. Luckmidas. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, India.

New Poems by Cowper

Every now and then unpublished poems by some distinguished poet are discovered and promptly given to the world. Such poems are always interesting, as is any work by a great hand, but almost invariably they bear their own evidence as to why they were never included by the author among his acknowledged writings. Inferior or fugitive productions, the poet has gladly consigned them to oblivion. Is any real service ever done in dragging them back into the light?

These thoughts are prompted by a booklet†, just published by the Oxford Press, presenting seven "new poems" by William Cowper. Six of these poems are here printed for the first time. The story of their discovery is told in a brief prefatory "Note." The seventh poem "is from a rare printed broadside and anonymous."

The booklet is a characteristic specimen of the work of the Oxford Press. Paper, printing, set-up, editing, all are admirable. But the poems, with two possible exceptions, are obviously mere improvisations, careless pieces dashed off as the amusement of an idle

†"New Poems," by William Cowper. Published by the Oxford University Press. 75 cents.

moment, and straightway forgotten. Cowper was a great poet—greater than the present generation knows, or is willing to admit. But one would never guess this fact from this little volume. J. H. H.

Correspondence

Things Are Moving in India

Editor of UNITY:

Things are moving in India. On July 8th last, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar resigned from the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference, because of Sir Samuel Hoare's announcement in the House of Commons on June 27th that henceforth there will be no more committees or reports by them about India and that there would be no more consultation with the Round Table Conference but only with individual Indians summoned to London to advise the Government in regard to the terms of the new legislation that is to be made by Parliament for the Government of India.

On July 9th, in Bombay, thirteen leading Hindu Round Table Conference delegates met and agreed unanimously and sent telegrams to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India saying that they refuse to cooperate any further with the Government in the work of Constitution making unless it reverses its policy. The men at this meeting included Sapru, Jayakar, Setalvad, Sastri, and probably Sethna, Joshi and Mody. The Government of course will not reverse its policy, partly out of pride, partly because it does not want another R. T. C. with the light of publicity again thrown on its doings in India and so full an advertisement of the failure of its policy; partly, I suspect because it fears that the Indian Moderates would do as they did at the 1930 R. T. C.—trade on the strength of Gandhi and the Congress and put much extra pressure on the Government to wring out more concessions.

On July 10th the Council of the All-India National Liberal Federation met at Bombay and unanimously endorsed the action of those delegates and also notified the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India that they, too, would refuse cooperation with the Government for the same reason.

I think that the Manchester *Guardian* is mistaken in thinking that this action of the Moderates makes no difference. One difference is already admitted by the *Guardian* in the earlier part of its editorial, as you will notice. Namely, decent Englishmen are now deprived of that support to their uneasy consciences given by the fact that a number of fine and able Indians like Sapru and Sastri were supporting the British Government. From now on the action of the Government is completely autocratic and oppressive. The British all know that the pro-British Moslems are self-seekers. So all the idealistic Indians are now against the Government. The *Guardian* admits frankly that the Government policy has been a complete failure. That also makes Englishmen ashamed and hurts their pride. A long article in the *Guardian* of June 20th from a correspondent in India, or at least from one very close to Government, stated that Britain must admit frankly that Indians are now as disgusted with British rule as they ever have been. The *Guardian* is also mistaken in saying that the situation is now back as it was with the Simon Commission. It is far blacker for England than it was then. Indian resentment is far wider and deeper, mistrust of the Government is almost universal, even among the Moslems, and the Congress is vastly stronger, and people are more disillusioned with Government and determined to win complete freedom.

Secondly, because of these very strained relations this action of the Moderates is far more important than it would have been a year or so ago. When feelings are so tense a straw will do much. While these Moderates had no following of importance, their names did count with outside opinion in other countries. Also in India their opposition to the Congress constituted something of a drag on Congress' influence with certain timid city folk and Government servants and Government clerks and employees. So now their action will seem to justify the Congress policy in the eyes of many Indians. Congressmen can now say, "We told you the British could not be trusted and would let you down and not give real freedom to India."

Forecasts of the Government's plans in the *Guardian* of June 20th state that the proposed new constitution of India cannot be ready for action until December, 1933, and that until then Gandhi and the other Congress leaders are to be kept in jail. Well, if that is done, the Moderates' resentment will mount so high, and their need for some sort of effective action will get so strong that perhaps even their timidity will end and they will join actively with the Congress. But even if not, they will no longer count against the Congress. After all, they are men and want self respect and respect from others.

Because of the Moderates' action the Tory Parliament will be still more afraid of giving any power to Indians, and so the proposed new constitution will grant even less than has been proposed so far, and the "safeguards" will be still more rigid and higher than have been planned hitherto. So it will be still more obnoxious to Indians and still more certain of failure, if British power lasts long enough to try to put it into operation.

The landholders and Princes will now be more nervous about their future. Probably the Moderates' action will tend to strengthen the economic boycott. The stand of the Moderates will undoubtedly affect the Non-Brahman Party of South India and tend to make it oppose Government. If it does so, that will compel Ambedkar to modify his attitude and move to the left in order to hold his followers. So-called "constitutional" action will now seem a failure in the eyes of many Indians. It is reported elsewhere that Sastri is "broken-hearted" by the British breach of faith as he conceives it. I guess that these developments will make the Government slower to announce an award in the communal dispute, though that is difficult to be sure about. I suspect that the communalist Moslems may now become more vociferous and insistent on their claims, hoping that they, as the only friends of Britain left in India, will be rewarded. But Britain does not dare yield too much to the Moslems because then the quarrels between Hindus and Moslems in Government service would get so bad as to cause all sorts of sabotage and disruption of Government work.

There will be a number of other reverberations.

RICHARD B. GREGG.

Boston, Massachusetts.

Chemical Warfare

Editor of UNITY:

My attention has recently been called to a pamphlet entitled, "The Menace of Chemical Warfare to Civilian Populations," published in London. I assert unhesitatingly that this pamphlet should be read by every intelligent person of fifteen years or over. The author states the stark and uncompromising facts about bomb warfare—poison gases and disease germs—and conclusively contradicts the theory that there is anything "merciful" in the employment of gas as an agent of extermination of human beings. On the contrary the truth about it is stated boldly and, while terrifying, it exerts a sort of horrible fascination upon the reader. One shudders at the accounts given yet feels impelled to continue reading to obtain all the information possible on this gruesome subject.

It seems to me that every reader must wonder—as I did—how anyone in the guise of man can be so debased as to be willing to seek to discover any substances for injury to his fellowmen or to invent or manufacture any implements for such use. If that does not indicate the nature of a fiend, what does?

The price of the pamphlet is only five cents and it can be obtained from: Chemical Workers' Union, 149 Newington Causeway, London, S. E. 1, England. I would suggest that anyone desiring a copy should send a dime which is less likely to be felt in the envelope when carefully wrapped and will pay for two copies, one of which can be passed along to good purpose.

Once having grasped the abhorrent facts stated in this publication, anyone who would not be roused to an immediate and determined resolution to refuse absolutely and forever to participate in or support in any way any possible future war could hardly be considered really sensible —or so it seems to me.

LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

Brookline, Massachusetts

The Control of Prices

Editor of UNITY:

Very many people believe that commodity prices depend upon the amount of currency actually in circulation, and that if this amount were increased prices would rise accordingly. So it has happened that in hard times there has grown up a demand for large issues of paper currency. At least three such proposals have been urged in Congress within a few months, the latest being Senator Glass's bill which would permit an increase of nearly one billion dollars in bank notes over the present circulation.

First, let us say that if banks had the power to raise commodity prices through enlarged note issues, they could just as effectively lower prices again by curtailing loans when it suited their purposes to do so. It is doubtful if it would be wise to put into the hands of the banks the power to manipulate commodity prices—if such power could be given. But let us see how paper money issues do affect prices.

There are two cases to consider, and they should be kept entirely distinct in the reader's mind. One case involves limited issues of paper, which the government stands ready to redeem in coin on demand. So long as people have confidence that the paper will be redeemed, an increase in its amount will not force prices to a higher level.

For prices in all gold standard countries are on the same level except for differences due to tariffs and transportation costs. How, then, could an enlarged issue of paper money in one country raise its price level permanently? If prices tend to rise there will be an influx of goods to take advantage of the higher prices—until an equilibrium is restored. So long as we remain on the gold standard we can raise prices here only by raising them proportionately in the other gold standard countries. Paper money will not raise the price level unless we go off the gold standard.

Commodity prices sometimes do rise from any one of several causes outside our control. When this occurs a larger amount of currency may be needed to transact business, and the banks will then put out more money to meet the needs of patrons. Thus higher prices and increased circulation will occur about the same time, and it is easy to get the impression that the former are caused by the latter.

Take the other case, where the government for the time being refuses to redeem its paper in coin. This fact alone will usually cause the paper money to depreciate in value, which means rising prices. And if much paper is issued, people soon lose confidence that it will ever be redeemed. They will then seek to exchange all their paper money for goods or property. This causes prices to rise rapidly.

If only a very limited amount of unredeemable paper money is issued, and if the country is free from turmoil, prices will be little affected. England, although off the gold standard at this time, has maintained the value of her paper money well up to its face value in gold by limiting the issues. But in many countries the temptation to increase the paper issues becomes irresistible in times of stress. Several European countries after the war kept on printing paper money till it came to have little or no value.

So, while we and hard-headed England might be trusted not to go too far in paper money inflation, it would be wise for us to set weaker governments an example of a money system based on the precious metals. The volume of these metals is so large and their values so nearly stable that there is little danger of injurious inflation. For this reason bimetallism is to be considered the safest method of securing the rise in commodity prices which is so generally conceded as necessary at this time.

FRANCIS S. KINDER.

Denver, Colorado.

Graft, Pay and Government Officials

Editor of UNITY:

Col. Hugh L. Cooper, American engineer who has been working on a $100,000,000 job in Russia, says he is not yet a Bolshevik, but admits a few good points about the Soviet system. Having spent the last six years in Russia, he says he has never encountered a single case of graft there. Grafting isn't popular over there. Anyone who tries it goes before a firing squad.

In this country, when our head officials in the Post Office waste or graft to the extent of a couple of billion dollars Congress merely tacks 50 per cent on to the postage to make up the deficit.

There is a story of two elderly sisters who inherited a valuable property and with it a servant. The servant, realizing the old ladies were innocent, soon made it known that he needed an assistant. His cousin was employed. The cousin had a brother-in-law needing a soft job and he was soon on the payroll. So it went until the house was crowded with impudent servants. They kept everything in commotion, took the best food for themselves, wasted more than they used, kept raising their own salaries, demanded that they be addressed as "Honorable," and ordered the old ladies to wait on them. In order to keep the old couple better satisfied they installed universal suffrage. Of course the ladies were hopelessly outvoted. Also the servants started a heated discussion between the old ladies on whether one-half teaspoonful of tea leaves to a gallon of water made too strong a drink for them. This was partially successful, for while the old ladies were arguing they were not noticing how they were being robbed.

Things went from bad to worse and soon the house went under the sheriff's hammer, the old ladies went to the poorhouse and soon to their graves, and the servants set out in search of other soft jobs.

But we, the people of the United States are not quite in such straits. We still have a majority over our public servants.

A civilized people may have no need of government, but there will always be need for public service; and public service calls for a limited number of public officials.

One practical method of thinning out the horde of public servants who have wished themselves upon us is to curb salaries, power and opportunity to graft.

It certainly is difficult to find any reason why a public official should draw any larger income than the average man performing any useful service. Much of our strife might be over if we would adopt a ratio of value between the three or four staple products of the nation and a day's unskilled (so called) labor.

J. C. C.

Brooksville, Florida.

A Valuable Work

Editor of UNITY:

Many thanks for putting Bishop Fisher's new book on Gandhi in my possession through the review by Mr. R. B. Gregg. This is a most valuable work as I know, having followed nearly everything I could get on the subject.

C. W. BALCH.

Chicago

The Field

(*Continued from page* 322)

paid, irregularly employed workers, crowded in unsanitary tenements, shacks or company houses, exposed to the constant fear of sickness unprovided for and of old age insecure. Our economic resources, our progress in invention and the arts, our social inheritance should now make possible a worthy standard of living for all if the organization of production and distribution were directed towards that end.

It is not denied that many persons of wealth are rendering great service to society. It is only suggested that the wealthy are overpaid in sharp contrast with underpaid masses of the people. The concentration of wealth carries with it a dangerous concentration of power. It leads to conflict and violence. To suppress the symptoms of this inherent conflict while leaving the fundamental causes of it untouched is neither sound statesmanship nor Christian goodwill.

Science and Religion Point the Way

It is becoming more and more clear that the principles of our religion and the findings of the social sciences point in the same direction. Economists now call attention to the fact that the present distribution of wealth and income which is so unbrotherly in the light of Christian ethics, is also unscientific in that it does not furnish sufficient purchasing power to the masses to balance consumption and production in our machine age. Economists further point out that control of the great economic forces which affect the welfare of all nations cannot be achieved by any one nation acting alone. World cooperation is becoming more and more a practical

necessity. This also is in line with Jesus' teachings of universal brotherhood.

The method whereby a just, brotherly and scientific world social order shall be brought about is a question of major importance. The churches do not condone violence nor encourage resort to force, but look with sympathy on all peaceful and constructive efforts—by individuals, by labor, by employers, by social agencies, and by political movements—to accomplish the desired end. Among the measures which in our time may advance the cause of human welfare in the direction of that ideal social order which we call the Kingdom of God, are intelligent planning and direction of industry, credit and finance for the common good; an extension of minimum wage laws, and above the minimum wage the highest possible wage as distribution becomes fairer and the productivity of industry increases; collective bargaining; cooperative ownership; and social insurance against accidents, sickness, old age and unemployment.

The Christian religion demands the dedication of power to the more abundant life of humanity. Such consecration of talent especially in the fields of industry and statecraft must become a test of the Christian life. It is the special responsibility of privileged classes to cooperate in movements toward economic justice, thus creating a spirit of fellowship instead of conflict in social progress. A similar obligation rests upon labor and its leaders.

With malice toward none and charity for all, the churches send their greetings on Labor Sunday to all who toil with hand or brain and look forward with them toward a better day.

Suggestions for the Observance of Labor Sunday, Sept. 4, 1932

1. Ministers are requested to read the Labor Sunday Message from their pulpits on Labor Sunday (September 4th) or on the first available Sunday thereafter.

2. A copy of the Message may be posted for a period on the church bulletin board. Some of the larger churches give out copies to their congregations at the close of the Labor Sunday service.

3. Ministers usually preach special sermons on the relation of Christianity to industrial problems, and the ideal of a Christian social order.

4. The prayers of the day will naturally turn the hearts of men to God in petitions for comfort and courage, strength and wisdom in the relief of unemployment, and for divine light and leading toward the building of a brotherly economic order in which there shall be such economic security for the masses of men as shall promote the good life for all.

5. A union service may be arranged of a number of churches with speakers representing labor, employers, city or state officials, social workers, and the churches. Special delegations may be invited to attend from labor organizations, employers' organizations, the Y. W. C. A., Y. M. C. A., etc. Such union services held out-of-doors in public parks have been very successful in many cities. A less elaborate program is easily arranged by conducting a union service in one of the churches. Suggestions in regard to names of speakers may be obtained from local councils of churches, denominational social service commissions or the Federal Council of Churches.

6. Include the Labor Sunday Message or quotations from it in any local broadcasting on Labor Sunday, and give copies to the local press in your town for release September 3rd.

7. Lay plans now for Young Peoples' Societies, Bible Classes, Women's Missionary Societies, or other church groups to conduct a study of unemployment, its causes and suggested cures during the fall or winter; or a study of the coal industry which will supply a clinical analysis of the problem as it affects this specific industry. Discussion outlines are now available on both of these subjects.

The following brief bibliography may be suggestive of the wide range of literature available for the study of these subjects. The listing of titles here is for reference without implication of endorsement of points of view expressed. Those starred may be ordered from the Social Service Commission, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Social Progress and Christian Ideals. A review of the social teachings of Jesus with scripture references, an analysis of social progress in the light of his principles. By Myers, King, Taylor and Jensen. Cokesbury Press, Nashville (Tenn.), 1931. $2.25.

*Prayers of the Social Awakening.** By Walter Rauschenbusch. $1.00.

*This Unemployment: Disaster or Opportunity.** By Vigo Auguste Demant. Published by the Student Christian Movement of England. A challenging analysis and suggested program written by the Director of Research of the Christian Social Council of England. Paper 50c, cloth $1.00, plus postage.

Case Studies of Unemployment. Shows what actually happens to families of the unemployed in terms of morals, health and outlook on life. Compiled by the National Federation of Settlements. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. $3.00.

Economic Planning. Survey Graphic, March, 1932. (Special issue "When We Choose to Plan"). Wide range of articles by prominent economists, employers, labor leaders and other experts. 50 cents. The Survey, 112 East 19th Street, New York.

Economic Principles and Problems. Walter E. Spahr, Editor. Contributions from economists on every phase of the economic system including an examination of the various social theories and proposed types of economic control. Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932. 12 East 41st Street, New York. $6.00.

*Permanent Preventives of Unemployment.** 25 cents.

*How the Churches Are Helping in Unemployment.** 2 cents.

*Information Service.** Industrial Review of the Year, July 29, 1932. Research Department, Federal Council of Churches. 15 cents.

Unemployment: A Discussion Outline for Young People and Bible Classes, with paragraph source material and bibliography. Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. 35 cents a copy; 12 for $3.50; 50 for $12.25.

The Human Price of Coal. A Study Outline of certain aspects of the bituminous coal industry — wages, unions, relief, strikes, civil liberties, the employers' problems—what is the way out? Association Press. 40 cents a copy; 12 for $4.00; 50 for $14.00.

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